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of the old dues on land, since they are to be used for new developments such as road-building, schools, clinics, &c., and not to institute paid service for unpaid labour dues.[1]

Here, as in many cases of adjustment between black and white, there appear to be two difficulties—the European's failure to understand the tribal machine, and a fundamental difference in point of view. 'Forced Labour' has an ugly sound to our ears. The claim of the African chief to be landlord of his whole territory is apt to strike the European as almost fantastic, and the administrator often feels it his duty to protect the natives of any particular district against any exorbitant demands their rulers may base upon it. To the white philanthropist it appears fundamentally unjust that a man should have to work without pay, at the arbitrary command of another, and that his right to live and cultivate in an area should depend on his willingness to work for the political head of that district. It is taken for granted that the *umulasa* system should be abandoned as soon as possible, as suiting ill with European conceptions of justice and the individual method of land-holding which it is hoped the Bemba will finally adopt when they have been taught fixed methods of cultivation.[2]

At the same time, the discouragement of the *umulasa* system,

[1] The annual revenue of the Bemba from the new treasury scheme has been reckoned at £1,303, of which £995 goes in salaries to chiefs, &c. The recent Pim report recommends that 20 per cent. of the native tax should be remitted to the native treasury instead of 10 per cent. as at present. Op. cit., pp. 184, 190.

[2] As far as abstract justice is concerned, there would seem to be little to choose between black and white conceptions. The European attitude to unpaid service prevents the Government from approving of the *umulasa* system, and also made it impossible in 1933 for the administration to accept service in lieu of money during an economic slump, in spite of the frequent requests of Bemba chiefs that their people should be allowed to work off their tax in this way. This seemed incredible to the native. His traditional obligations to his chief were, after all, paid in commodities which were easily available—food and labour—whereas the Government demands for a money tax made it necessary for him to leave his territory in most instances to look for work. Otherwise, he suffered imprisonment, in which he did a month's unpaid labour for the Government, and was released, still owing arrears of tax! (By the tax-relief scheme of 1935, tax defaulters were allowed to work off their tax at slightly below the current wages, on public works.)

European concern at an institution which binds natives to work for their chief in return for the right of cultivation seems also inconsistent, since the squatter system of land-tenure is the only means by which a large portion of the native inhabitants of South Africa claim any right to land to cultivate at all, and, in the latter case, the natives work a legal minimum, varying from ninety days to six months a year in return for the right to settle. Added to which, the Bemba is free to go where he pleases without reference to his chief, whereas the South

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without adequate provision for the running of the political machine, naturally reduces the efficiency of the chief and his council to a dangerous extent, and even with such a provision, the abolition of all voluntary service for the tribe brings one of the most educational influences to which Bemba youth is subject, to an end.

To conclude, Bemba rights to the use of land are part of a reciprocal series of obligations between subject and chief. The former accepts the political status of subject and membership of a village group. He gives respect, labour, and tribute to his chief, and in return he is able to cultivate as much land as he pleases and to occupy it for as long as he needs. The latter prays to the tribal spirits in order to make the land productive, initiates economic effort, feeds the hungry, and maintains his court and tribal councillors—all that the Bemba mean by saying that he is 'working' his land. The political machinery founded on this system of land-tenure is breaking down with changing religious beliefs and the chief's diminishing power to exact his legal dues. But from the agricultural point of view the position of the commoner remains secure, and no Bemba chief has yet profited from changing conditions to limit his subjects' right of cultivation or has tried to exact a profit from his theoretical ownership of land.

Rights of Selection and Occupation.

I have discussed rather fully the rights of the Bemba to occupy land as these are traditionally defined between subject and chief. What is the situation as between one commoner and another? As far as the chief is concerned a man may clear the bush anywhere in the *icalo*, if he accepts the status of a subject and membership of a village community. This fact was made clear to me when listening to a case brought before Citimukulu's court. On this occasion the headman of village A on one side of a river complained that villagers from B on the opposite bank had crossed the stream and cut gardens in the bush immediately near his village instead of cultivating on the other side. Citimukulu heard the case at some length, but gave his decision without hesitation. He declared that no action lay, and dismissed all the litigants. He said to the assembled court, 'They are all my people. It is my *icalo* and

African squatter native cannot leave a farm without permission from his owner, and in some districts the native who breaks his contract with his landlord is convicted under a penal code.

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631 The kingdom of Kazembe extended from the Lualaba to the Bemba country and from the Aushi paramount chiefdom of Mereniere to the Tabwa chiefdom of Nsama. The districts at a distance from the capital were governed and
●636 defended by resident *bakalamo* (watchmen) appointed by and answerable to the Kazembe. Outlying dependencies, *amayanga* (sing. *yanga*), were controlled by Kazembe's agents who travelled with their *mabumba* (retinues) to
701 collect the tribute. There was no standing army.(1) In time of general war the governor of the frontier district, Moenempanda,(2) commanded the troops raised by provincial chiefs.

361 The earlier capital, on the eastern side of Lake Mofwe, had to be
643 moved to a new site at the death of a Kazembe.(3) It was surrounded by a deep ditch(4) and enclosed with a wall of reeds. Its gateway was decor-
644 ated with dozens of human skulls.(5) On returning to his country after the Yeke raids had been beaten off, Kazembe moved the capital farther south to Mwansabombwe where it has remained. The Kazembe had a large corps of palace officials, many of whom were his *bacanuma* (fellow-clansmen of his mother), and a bodyguard.(6) Fumo Anceva,(7) the Kazembe's chamberlain, superintended the management of the palace, escorted foreigners and arranged audiences. There were five classes or ranks of Lunda: Kazembe and his family; the descendants of the Lunda chiefs from Muata Yamvo's country; those of the Luba chiefs from the Lualaba invested by Muata Yamvo; those of the clan heads who came with the first Lunda expedition; and those descended from the indigenous Shila chiefs and headmen admitted to Lunda-hood. Only sons of a Kazembe by a Lunda woman of the second or third rank were eligible for the position of Kazembe.(8) A reigning Kazembe usually recognised his successor officially.(9) The badge of office, the *lukano* armband, had to be transferred from the arm of the dead Kazembe to that of his successor.(10) A *mutaoa*-tree leaf was inserted in his mouth during the enthronement ceremony.

643 Kazembe and his household lived in the *nosumba*, the royal enclosure.(11)
644 His first four wives were given traditional names: Moari, Intemena, Kasaleuca, Fuama.(12) The families (? lineages) of women who had borne a Kazembe formed a nobility. Their members were the *bacalulua*.

624 Village headmen are nowadays administrative and ritual officials. They transmit the decisions of the Native Authority; they act as mediators in disputes, and endeavour to settle them amicably without the parties going to court; they organise work-parties to clear channels and repair village fences; they tend the village medicine (*nshipa*), ritually purify lion-killers, and take ritual measures to end a drought. Formerly they officiated at the sowing and first-fruits ceremonies. They are appointed by the Kazembe from among the members of their predecessor's *cikota*. District
622 chiefs hear cases in the first instance. An appeal from their decisions can be made to Kazembe, who is head of the Native Authority. The chiefs have succeeded the tax-collectors who were established under the British

(1) Valdez, II, p.238.
(2) Gamitto, I, p.246; II, p.18; Burton, p 110.
(3) Livingstone, I, pp.247, 264; Burton, p.139.
(4) Burton, p.43.
(5) Livingstone, I, p.247.
(6) Valdez, II, p.238.
(7) Burton, pp.101, 108.
(8) Gamitto, II, p.17.
(9) Valdez, II, p.232.
(10) Gamitto, II, pp.35-6.
(11) Valdez, II, p.214.
(12) ibid., p.254.